language. I was interested in the spoken word of the linguistically pure 114
Hottentot. The difficulties of making oneself understood with illiterates
had the advantage that they concentrate all their attention on listening 126
and when I was attempting to repeat what I had heard in a phonetically
correct manner they demanded a much stricter accounting than would
have been required in any agreement on paper on the basis of conven-
tional signs. In this way I first established the native names for the ani-
mals [341] and then for the plants which I gathered. From these studies
came other linguistic stimulations, in the way that a simple example will
illustrate. One Hottentot, whom I asked if he had ever seen the large,
South African ant-eater, the aardvark, which animal is very difficult to
shoot, promised, to my great amazement to bring me one that same
evening. He brought a root, because I had not pronounced the Hottentot
term for this animal with the accent on the last syllable and with a rising
word-tone (/kxubu·s), but with the accent on the first syllable and with a
falling word-tone (/kxu· bus). Such misunderstandings occurred frequently
in the course of the first year. They showed me again and again the
necessity of never leaving out of consideration the phonetic side of the
language and of marking every new word immediately with diacritical
signs, since I might have to differentiate it later from a similar sounding
one.

The counter check, whether I had used enough signs to differentiate
similarly sounding words and had chosen the right ones, was simple.
After several days I would pronounce the words I wished to test to a native,
reproducing them exactly from the chosen signs and then I saw at once
whether he had understood the meaning clearly or not in the sense that
the written method wished to convey. I then compared the results of this
method with the customary way of writing it and soon came to the con-
viction that there were not sufficient signs in use to reproduce the sound
relationships of the Nama language as was necessary from the phonetic
viewpoint and as was desirable in the interest of a clear differentiation of
similarly sounding words.

In the stories that follow later I shall give examples of morphology
and syntax of the Nama language. I will restrict myself here to giving
the results of my investigations of phonology.

1. The Clicks

194

Clicks are the most noticeable sounds in the Nama language, and
learning to differentiate and pronounce them belongs to the first and

unavoidable elementary stage. This has been the stumbling block for many who wished to learn Nama. Once you have learned to distinguish the four clicks by ear, then you [342] can make the job of reproducing them easier by having a native pronounce selected click words slowly and at the same time look as far down his throat as possible without influencing the tone by any interruptions. You will then see and hear that the shape, the placing and the withdrawing of the tongue determine the character of each click. 194

The click sounds of the Hottentots have been compared to the "inspirata" and the "exspirata" of the consonants (78), unjustly in my

78. Th. Hahn, Die Sprache der Nama. Leipzig, 1870.

opinion. The question, whether inspiration or expiration is involved in the formation of the clicks can be tested by anyone pronouncing a click. You must hold your breath and try to click. The sounds come forth effortlessly, powerfully and typically. The same is true for all four sounds, no matter whether they are formed during inspiration or expiration. Breathing, in other words, plays no part here. Rather the formation of clicks is exclusively an effect of the energetic withdrawal of the tongue from the place where it begins the click. In the empty space that is thus formed the air rushes in creating the four different sounds without any physiological assistance. The air also finds its way through the oral cavity but this inrushing is not inspiration. The independence of the diaphragm and the lungs is in my opinion characteristic of making click sounds.

The use of click-like sounds in the language of other peoples than that of the Hottentot - Bushman group of South Africa has not yet been systematically investigated. The dental and cerebral click sounds seem to have been transferred with least modification into the language of several South African Bantu tribes. But their use in word formation is not supposed to correspond to that of the Hottentots. I myself had no opportunity to compare the click sounds of the Zulus, Basutos, etc. with those of the Hottentots.

2. The Musical Modifications of the Nama Sounds

The musical modifications of the Nama sounds are supposedly sufficiently differentiated by three signs. Kroenlein's signs are not precisely

defined by the author. Büttner says of them in the preface to "Wortschatz," probably basing his opinion on Th. Hahn or older authors, that they designate the middle, low and high tones." A comparison with the living language shows, however, that pure tonal levels are produced only in a number of cases. In most of the cases the signs are used rather for the designation of such relationships of sounds [344] that are combinations of very different musical elements. The usual three signs do not represent simple sound relationships in most cases but complex ones, reproduce them incompletely, since the sound elements are only partly considered, and the way they are combined not at all, and reproduce them ambiguously, because they reproduce similarly sounding words without consideration for the various sound components.

A. Seidel, who never heard the Nama language himself, in other words proceeds purely theoretically, differentiates the usual three tonal levels as "intonations", but does not see the various tonal levels as of a decisive nature in themselves, but the rising and falling of the tones as most important. This rising and falling of the tone has been now completely amalgamated with the tonal level in the most unfortunate way in that the start of the voice at the middle tonal level has been established as the point of departure. That is completely contradictory to the facts. The assumption that the voice always rises or falls from the middle tonal level when it changes its level is actually false and therefore the whole tonal system built on this assumption collapses.

Clarity cannot be won by abstractly adjusting and assimilating old concepts but only by a renewed study of the living language itself. Therefore, proceeding purely empirically, I wrote down all the phonetic elements that concerned the tonal level and its change, as soon as I heard them turning up repeatedly in a word. A special consideration of the accent later proved to be necessary and required a revision of the designations in that direction. The results of my observations, which were tested often over a period of time in every detail, are the following: the musical character of the sounds is determined in the Nama language not by three isolated modifications of sounds synchromized with a strong accent, but by eight sound modifications, which combine with each other as well as with the ninth factor, the accent, in many, many ways.

The circumstance, that Kroenlein's signs are already in use in two different definitions, of which one is too general, and the other of which contradicts the facts, has determined me not to adopt these signs in my orthography after several unsuccessful attempts to do so. They could only be used if they were redefined. Their use then would not correspond

[text continues on p. 143. -Annlyst]

Summary of the Various Positions of the Tongue in the Formation of the Clicks

Name and Sign of the Click	Shape of the Tongue at the Start of the Click	The Starting Position of the Clicking Parts of the Tongue	Position of the Part of the Tongue that is not Clicking During the Start of the Click	Direction of the Withdrawal of the Clicking Part of the Tongue from the Starting Position
Dental /	Flat and broad	The front end of the tongue is placed against the inner surface of the upper incisors and canines	The lateral edges of the tongue, while the front end starts clicking, are so placed against the inner surfaces, and partly against the chewing surfaces of the side teeth, that you cannot see into the oral cavity.	Far down, right behind the incisors.
Lateral //	Rounded like a bullet, so that the oral cavity is visible on both sides of the tongue, even when the tongue is placed to begin the click	Most of the back of the tongue rests against the palate	The tip of the tongue rests against the front palate, also partly against the inner surface of the upper incisors. The side edges of the tongue lie on the inner surface of the upper molars.	Perpendicularly down, but only so far that the back of the tongue remains considerably above the chewing surfaces of the lower molars.

continued

Summary of the Various Positions of the Tongue in the Formation of the Clicks (Cont'd)

Name and Sign of the Click	Shape of the Tongue at the Start of the Click	The Starting Position of the Clicking Parts of the Tongue	Position of the Part of the Tongue that is not Clicking During the Start of the Click	Direction of the Withdrawal of the Clicking Part of the Tongue from the Starting Position
Cerebral !	Hollow like a basin, and broad	The front end of the tongue lies at some distance from the incisors against the front and middle part of the palate	The lateral edges of the back section of the tongue lie against the inner surfaces of the molars, just touching their chewing surfaces	Downwards and backwards
Palatal ≠	Flat and broad	The tip of the tongue lies closely against the front palate right behind the incisors	The lateral edges of the back section of the tongue lie against the inner surfaces and the chewing surfaces of the molars	Downwards and so far to the rear that the ligament of the tongue is visible between the front edge of the tongue and the incisors

to that in Krönlein's [345] "Wortschatz" and that would lead to misunderstandings. The following nine different musical modifications of the Nama sounds divide into three groups.*

* The termini technici, which I had created for naming the newly differentiated sound elements of the Nama language, were reviewed by Professor Eduard Sievers in Leipzig and improved when necessary in the interest of a unified nomenclature. (81) I also received

81. E. Sievers, Grundzüge der Phonetik, 5. Aufl., 1901.

decisive assistance in the task of reproducing the phonetic elements in such a way that they did not over-burden the sentence and so that they did not pile up in a muddle when combined. I mention again in this place my heartfelt thanks to Professor Sievers.

a) The initial tone level. By this I mean the level at which the voice regularly starts when pronouncing certain words, compared with the initial level of the voice in other words.

Three kinds of initial tone level must be differentiated; the signs which I have chosen for them are included in parentheses.

α) The middle tone is characterized by the fact that the voice does not begin either lower nor higher than on the average. What is meant by the "average tone niveau" of a person and how it varies according to age, sex and individual peculiarities, do not need to be defined in number of vibrations. One becomes to attuned to the organ of one's Hottentot teacher that one immediately notices a deviation of the voice either up or down. The middle tone does not need a sign. It is assumed wherever there is not a sign (if the signs for the tonal level are otherwise completed).

β) The high tone (sign: ˊ after the sound) is characterized by the fact that the voice is higher,

γ) the low tone (sign: ˋ after the sound) by the fact that the voice is lower than normal.

If there is doubt about the type of initial tone level in a word, then a comparison of the questionable word with others made up of the same sounds is decisive. Thus you might doubt whether the word for "green" should be written !am or !a↓m, because the voice is so close to the border between the middle and high tone. A comparison with the word !am "to join to each other" which is pronounced obviously deeper down decides for the high tone (combined here with a falling tone extension). But that in this word the voice actually has a middle and not a low tone setting we learn from the designation for "glass bead," the word !a↓m, because the voice reaches its lowest level in pronouncing this word.

[346] The musical modifications of the Nama sounds stand out most clearly in their variations and in their value for the understanding of the language, when they separate distinctly two words that would otherwise sound alike.* To illustrate this meaning of the three different initial tonal

* The signs used here and in the following text are missing still in some few words which were mentioned in the previous text. The method of writing them that is used in the following list is the correct one.

levels, the following examples are presented: 194 192

1.	/aba·	= red
	/a↓ba·s	= the north
	*/a↓ba·b	= the taste of blood in the mouth
2.	!aĩ↑	= to test
	!aĩ↓	= to jump
3.	!a↓m	= green (as a verb: to shine around)
	!a↓m	= to join to each other
	!a↓ms	= the glass bead
4.	/ai↓	= to whore
	/ai↓↓	= to listen
	(ai↑	= to sprinkle)
5.	/ga↓m	= to be warm
	/ga↓m	= two
6.	//gā↓	= to hang bead necklaces around the neck
	//gā↑	= to be thin
	(//gā↓	= to go off to war)

194 ●
192

7. //ga↓ru·s = the skin sack
//garu·b = the hole that collects water in the rocks
8. /gara·b = the obstruction
*/ga↓ra·b = the berry-like fruit of the Rhus lancea L.f. (Anacardiaceae)
9. *!ga↓ba·b = name of a species of Rhizogum (Bignoniaceae).
!ga↑ba·b = the water bag
10. !gãũ↑ = to fasten a skin with pegs that is stretched on the ground to dry
!gãũ = to cross something on one's way
!gãũ↓ = to make something even by lopping; to bump ankles when walking
11. ≠gã↓ = to prepare sugar beer, to implant
[347] ≠gã↑ = to be bald
12. gau↓ = to hide oneself
gau↑ = to become fat
13. /go↓m = with bushy hair
/go↑m = to suck blood
14. /gau↓ = to give another nursing mother to a baby
/gau↓↓ = to feel about in the dark
15. //goa· = to beseech
//go↓a· = to threaten
(//go·a = to become light)
16. ≠go↓a·b = mud, the dregs of the sugar beer
≠go↑a·b = the bed skin
17. ≠go↓ma·b = the dregs of a liquid
*≠go↑ma·b = the striped mouse (see p. 287, no. 36)
18. ≠gãũ↓ = to push away with the fist
≠gãũ↑ = to bump into
19. //gũ↓b = the father
//gũ↑b = the springbok
//gũ↓b = the tooth
20. //ha↓i· = to flee
//hai· = to scrape hair from a skin
21. !hai↑b = the bone pipe
!haib = to cut up a fruit

194
198

22. !haũ/b = the strap
*!haũ/b = the iron on the flint tinder box
23. /ho/m = to be fat
/ho/m = to knock off the burnt part from something baked in the ashes
24. ≠hu·/mi = to prevaricate
≠hu·/mi = to hold oneself in readiness
25. /hui· = to uncover, lay bare
*/hu/i· = to blow out air, hiss (of the horned viper)
26. //hu/i· = the rising up of the snake
//hui· = to do something for the first time
27. //kχa/n = to seize
*//kχa/n = to hold back a bowel movement
28. !kχã/ = to squint
!kχã/ = to milk sheep or goats into the mouth secretly
[348] 29. !kχari· = to follow tracks
!kχa/ri·b = honey beer
30. ≠kχa/m = young
≠kχa/m = to produce a dead calf
≠kχa/m = to lay back the ears
31. ≠kχari· ≠kχa/ri· = little = to slide out
32. ≠kχai = to awaken
≠kχai/ = to blink
33. /kχo·/mas = the beseeching
/kχo·mab = hilly or mountain land, the Komas Highlands in the southern Herero territory
34. //kχõ/ = to bury
//kχõ/ = to be coarse
35. na/ru· = to make an arc, to go around
naru·s = the clod
36. !na/n = to tie around
*!na/n = to have the bladder too full
37. !nai/s = the seeking
!nai/s = the kidneys

192
194

38. /no/bo = to grow hair
/nobo· = to scrape
39. !noa· = to become gray
!no/a· = to run away (thy animals), to awaken
40. !nõ·/as = slovenliness
!nõ·ʔas = the heel
!noʔa·s = stumbling
41. ǂnoa· = to quarrel
ǂno/a· = to throw
42. õ·a = to seek
õ·/a = to increase
õa· = to calf, to lamb, to have young
43. o·re = to vomit milk (of a suckling), as a noun (-s) also: the milk in the stomach of a young, wild calf, just killed.
oʔre = of the predatory animal: running to fetch the buried booty
(ore· = to make free)

[349] 44. !o/m = to push
!oʔm = to be without horns (of cattle)
!o/m = to become hard, to pull out a thorn
45. sao/s = thy mother
saos = the pursuit
46. sĩʔ = to sneeze
sĩ/ = to send
47. uru· = to stalk game
ʰu/ru· = to jump on an unsaddled horse
48. tsabi· = the habit of rolling the eyes around while watching
tsa/bi·s = the black ebony tree

194
194

b) Tone extension. By this I understand the difference between the initial tone level and the level of the same vowel or dipthong of a one syllable word, when it has been extended.

Three kinds of tone extension are to be distinguished.

a.) The even extension is characterized by the fact that the voice ends at the same level at which it began. This staying the same does not need to be marked by any sign. It is assumed as given if there is no sign.

ß) The rising extension (sign: ↑ after the sound) is characterized by a rising.

γ) the falling extension (sign: ↓ after the sound) by a dropping of the fading voice.

The ear of the white man has to slowly become accustomed to these differences. For the native they are as clear as the rising of the voice for a question is for us or its sinking at the end of a statement. Examples:

1. ā = to weep
   ā↓ = to drink
   ā↑ = yes! (modified easily by emotions when the tone is extended.)
2. /ā = to wring out
   /ā↓ = to be sharp
3. /ā = to be wet
   /ā↓ = to pilfer
4. a↓ms = the mouth
   a↑ms = the roast
   a↓m = to the right
5. //ga↑n = to bake a cake in the pan
[350] //ga↓n = to pull in one's head
   (//ga↓↓n = verb - the leaving behind of the lamb at a definite place on the part of the mother.)
6. °!ga↓m = to have gonorrhea
   °!ga↑m = deep
   (!ga↓m = to bow)
   (!ga↑m = to kill)
7. /gē = to collect cattle of the same color
   °/gē↓ = not wanting to give away his last bit
   (gē↑ = to have twins)
8. ǂgū↓↓ = to be sharp
   ǂgū↑ = to set up a scarecrow for animals
   (ǂgū↓ = to turn aside)
9. //gū↓s = the dish that is made from the breastbone of the ostrich
   //gū↑b = compulsion
10. !gū↓b = the long reed mat
    !gū↑b = following a track

192
194

!gū$^{\prime}$ = wearing an apron behind
!gū$^{\prime}$ = to let someone ride on your shoulders
11. //ha/m = chewing different foods at the same time
//ha$^{\prime}$m = pouring in
12. ǂhā/b = the surface
ǂhā$^{\prime}$b = pushing in front of one or shoving
13. ǂha/b = the need
$^{\circ}$ǂha$^{\prime}$b = a black stone (such as is found near Aar in the neighborhood of Kubub, for example.)
14. //hō/s = pouring out
//hō$^{\prime}$s = the knapsack
15. !hō/ = to fall on one's elbows (said of the small child that is creeping on hands and knees.)
!hō$^{\prime}$ = to mock
16. !hu·/mi = the mountain
!hu·$^{\prime}$mi = the seal (see page 41)
17. !ho/m = to be lame, also: to untie oxen from the yoke of the trek rope (to span them in front of another wagon.)
!ho$^{\prime}$m = to swallow something hot
[351] 18. kxū/ = to blow something up
kxū$^{\prime}$ = to blow oneself up, to be inflated
19. //nā/ = to leave
//nā$^{\prime}$ = to fall
(//nā = there)
20. $^{\circ}$!nā/b = the white blaze across the middle of the forehead and nose
!nā$^{\prime}$b = the lower body.
(!nā/b = a large kind of land turtle
21. $^{\circ}$ǂna$^{\prime}$m = flat and thin
ǂna$^{\prime}$m = to whistle
22. !nō/b = the stone under the cooking pot
!nōb = peace [quiet]

23.	/õ	=	to make a noise
	/ṍ	=	to stop giving milk
24.	ǂa$^{\circ}$b	=	the resting
	ǂa$^{\cdot}$b	=	the buchu powder
25.	ǂa$^{\circ}$m	=	to pull the bark off a tree
	ǂa$^{\cdot}$m	=	to take out honey
	(ǂa/m	=	to intimidate a bird with a throw so that it ducks to the ground)
26.	!ũ$^{\circ}$s	=	claw, hoof
	!ũ$^{\cdot}$s	=	forehead
	(!ũ//s	=	plants)
27.	tsã$^{\circ}$b	=	grease for joints
	tsã$^{\cdot}$b	=	licking
28.	!mã$^{\circ}$b	=	distance
	!mã$^{\cdot}$b	=	dust cloud
	(!mã$^{\circ}$b	=	bush hut, bush shelter)

c) The word-tone. By this I mean the difference in the level of the voice between the first and last syllable of a word. We will not consider three syllable words at all, as no more than two syllables ever have this characteristic difference in level, the third syllable being about the same as one or the other accented syllables. Two kinds of word-tone are to be differentiated.

1. The rising word-tone is characterized by the fact that the voice is higher at the end syllable than at the first syllable.

[352] 2. Oppositely falling word-tone is characterized by the lower level of the voice at the final syllable.

In the rising and falling word-tone you must sometimes differentiate a long and a short interval which are independent of individual variations. The long one amounts to a short third to fourth, the short one only a half tone. Among the following examples are those which show that even this amount of word-tone can make a decisive difference in the meaning.

A special sign for the differences of the word-tone has not been introduced as I did not wish to pack the letters further with diacritical marks. This is readily justified where these differences of the word-tone go hand in hand with those in the position of the accent which has its own sign. But where, as in the following examples, it is a question of the same question of the same position of the accent and the same type of word-tone, the following abbreviations are added in parentheses to make clear a difference which is purely one of interval:

1/2, st. means . . . a word-tone rising about 1/2 tone.
3, st. means . . . a word-tone rising about one major third.
1/2, f. means . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about 1/2 tone.
3, f. means . . . a word-tone sinking (falling) about one major third.

Examples:

1.	/ga⸝ri·b	(3, st.)	: name of a riverbank grass.
	/ga⸝ri·s	(1/2, st.)	: a boil.
2.	/go⸝a·b	(3, st.)	: name of a succulent edible plant.
	*/go⸝a·b	(1/2, st.)	: the call of the sitting /hunos owl.
3.	!go⸝ro·	(3, st.)	: to stay behind.
	!go⸝ro·	(1/2, st.)	: to roar.
4.	!gu⸝ru·b	(3, st.)	: poison.
	!gu⸝ru·b	(1/2, st.)	: thunder.
5.	/ha⸝na·	(3, st.)	: to be slow.
	/ha⸝na·	(1/2, st.)	: to smell of urine.
6.	!ha⸝ra·	(3, st.)	: to look on.
	!ha⸝ra·	(1/2, st.)	: to snort, to spit hard.
7.	/ha⸝ra·b	(3, st.)	: the wart.
	/ha⸝ra·b	(1/2, st.)	: the contents of the first stomach of ruminants.
8.	/haru·s	(3, st.)	: name of Cyperus species.
[353]	*/haru·s	(1/2, st.)	: Mesembrianthemum species.
9.	/ha⸝u·b	(3, st.)	: goat beard.
	/ha⸝u·b	(1/2, st.)	: visible breath.
10.	/ho⸝bo·	(3, st.)	: to paint the face.
	*/ho⸝bo·	(1/2, st.)	: to arrange a new-born one.
11.	na⸝ri·	(3, st.)	: to be thickened.
	na⸝ri·	(1/2, st.)	: this morning.
12.	!na⸝ba·b	(3, st.)	: the mend.
	!na⸝ba·b	(1/2, st.)	: rhinoceros.
13.	!no⸝ra·b	(3, st.)	: tobacco roll.
	!no⸝ra·s	(1/2, st.)	: the black ball of manure of the little ruminants.

d) The accent (sign: · after the sound) should be placed with the sound modifications as a part of the rhythmic pattern. An amalgamation of the accent sign with the signs of the "tonal level" elements (as Kroenlein tried) is not feasible. I consider a sign exclusively used to indicate the accent indispensible for a thorough analysis of the sounds of the Nama language.

In the pronunciation of individual words, in many cases you can only differentiate between syllables that are more or less accented, not between accented and unaccented syllables. Especially when the falling word-tone amounts to one third, the accent usually lies so evenly on the first and last syllable that a differentiation in the accent is not possible. In such cases the sign can be left out.

In general in two syllable words with a rising word-tone the accent lies on the second syllable and with the falling word-tone on the first syllable. How

e) combinations of the four above-mentioned musical elements determine the phonetic character and thereby usually the meaning of the words, the following examples shall show:

«) combination of differences in initial tone level and tone extension. The combination of high initial tone level and falling tone extension is designated by ↓, the combination of low initial tone level and rising tone extension is designated with ↑.

1. ǂāǀ = to burst open
   ǂā↓ = to slaughter
2. /a↑n = to groan
   /a↓n = to smoke (of the fire)
3. //a↑↑m = to clean oneself with cow dung
[354] //a↓m = placing stones in the hole game (see page 314); clapping hands
   //a↓m = to eliminate
   •//a↓m = to cover in order to hide
4. //a↑n = to dwell
   //a↓n = to ripen
   //a↑n = to hold firmly together
5. ǂa↓n = to know
   ǂa↑n = to give a blow
6. dã↑ = to jubilate, make merry
   dã↓ = to be someone's enemy
7. gã↓ = to be lost
   gã↑ = to be clever, to outwit someone
8. !gã↓ = to burst
   !gãb = the resurrection, the reappearance of the crescent moon

192
194

	!gā↓b	=	poison
	!gā↓b	=	the servant
	*!gā↓b	=	name of an Euphorbia that is probably identical with the one on page 260
9.	!ga·↓ni	=	chin
	!ga·ni	=	way [road]
	(!ga↓ni-	=	to press)
10.	≠ga↓	=	to go in
	*≠gã↓	=	to be steep
11.	χo↓m	=	to wipe the dust off
	*χo↓m	=	to draw a noose tight
12.	≠ga↓m	=	to mend something broken
	≠ga↓m	=	to jump about
13.	≠ga↓n	=	to cover
	≠ga↓n	=	to ask
14.	/gaĩ↓	=	to be greedy
	/gaĩ↓	=	to spread out skins for a bed
15.	//gē↓	=	to strangle
	//gē↓	=	to eliminate, secrete
16.	gō↓	=	to refuse
	gō↓	=	to see
17.	!go↓m	=	to be pregnant
[355]	!go↓m	=	the humming of the ostrich
18.	≠go↓m	=	to dip in
	≠go↓m	=	to believe
19.	/gū↓	=	near
	/gū↓	=	dirty
20.	!ga↓m	=	to bend
	!ga↓m	=	to kill
	*!ga↓m	=	deep
21.	!gau↓	=	to be left over
	!gau↓	=	to throw towards
22.	!hā↓b	=	to winnow out
	!hā↓b	=	lynx (see page 281)
	!hā↓b	=	canine tooth of the horse

192
194

23. ǂhaũ/ = to smear oneself with something sweet
ǂhaũ = to crush the tsama fruit (see p. 200)

24. /hũ/b = the scorpion
/hũ\b = anxiety, choking

25. /hũ\b = the white man
/hũ/b = the smell of the billy goat

26. //hũ\ = to bore through
//hũ/ = to bark

27. !hũ\ = to flee
!hũ/b = the country

28. !hũ/ = to tie, combine
!hũ/ = to pound cooked meat, to push up and away with the fist
•!hũ = to suck marrow from bones (cf. p. 31)

29. /kχa\m = to urinate
/kχa\m = to trickle through
•/kχa/ms = the edible soft parts of sea snails (see p. 31)

30. kχo/m = to pound fine
kχo\m = to speak

31. //kχo/m = to scratch out the remnants baked firmly to the pot
//kχo\m = to bind up a body

32. /kχũ/ = to tremble
/kχũ\ = to pull out

33. ǂnã\ = to pour
[356] ǂnã = to be dry

34. ǂna\n = to strike fire
ǂna/n = to turn around

35. !no\m = humpbacked
!no/m = to smoke out bees (see p. 205)

36. ǂnau\ = to strike
ǂnau = to help

192 194

37. /o↓m = to breathe
/o↓m = to wipe off

38. sã↓ = to warm oneself
sã↓ = to pick one's nose

39. sĩ = to come there
sĩ↓↓ = ? [pforzen]

β) Differences in the initial tone level and the word-tone:

1. /abi· (1/2, st.) = to rain (cf. p. 237 note)
/a↓bi· (3, st.) = to scratch the skin for purposes of healing

2. χore· (1/2, st.) = to release
χo↓re· (3, st.) = to joke

3. /ga↓i·b (3. st.) = name of a lizard, the Mabuia acutilabris Ptrs.
/ga↑i·b (1/2, st.) = dancing

4. gu↓ni· (3, st.) = to stalk game
gu↑ni· (1/2, st.) = to scratch one's closed eye or ear

5. //guru·s (1/2, st.) = quartz stone
*//gu↓ru·b (3, st.) = mountain ridge

6. !ha↓mi· (3, st.) = to hunt
!ha↑mi· (1/2, st.) = to be insulted

7. !huri·b (3, st.) = fear
!hu↑ri·b (1/2, st.) = the backbone

8. //naru· (1/2, st.) = to roast, to chew on a bone (said of cattle)
//na↓ru· (3, st.) = to impale in rows

9. !na↑ru·s (1/2, st.) = the black ebony tree (synonym, see p. 144)
*!na↓ru·s (3, st.) = name of a ray (fish)

10. u·↑ri (1/2, f.) = to gnaw bones
u·rib (3, f.) = louse

[357] γ) Differences in word-tone and accent.

[C4] (Where not specially indicated, the word-tone is 1/2 a tone):

1. a·bu = to fold up
abu·s = the empty ostrich egg

192
194

2. /a·ob = blood
/ao·b = snake

3. //a·ru = to return home
//aru· = dotted black and white

4. ≠aba· = to burst
≠a·ba = to cut open

5. ≠abi· = to sweep dirt
≠a·bi = to be bored

6. ≠a·bo = to plaster
≠abo· = to seize someone by surprise

7. go·a = to be half dry
goa· = to praise

8. !goa· = to crack a whip
*!go·a = to lie deep

9. gu·ri = to gnaw bones
guri·b = the year

10. *//gaba· = to see sharply and far off
*//ga·ba = to step on something by mistake

11. //ha·ob = the wind break of the fire place
//hao·b = the rising of a thunderstorm

12. !hari· = to undo stitches
!ha·ri = to live in the neighborhood

13. /kχa·reb = the short-step gait of a horse (the Boers' way of riding)
/kχare·b = the calf of the oryx antelope (the accent on p. 275 misprinted)

14. /kχa·rus = name of a kind of hare (see p. 285)
*/kχaru·s = name of a kind of Euphorbia, E. cervicornis Boiss (see Plate VI)

15. /kχa·bu = to spit water out of one's mouth
/kχabu·s = sandal

16. //kχa·eb = driving back
//kχaē·b = sand of the river bed

[358] 17. //kχara· = to punish
//kχa· ra = to be big
192
194
18. !kχa·erab (3, f.) = name of a kind of hare (see p. 285)
!kχaĕra· (e, st.) = careless
19. !kχa·ru = to snore
!kχaru· = to shoot through
20. //kχoro·b (3, st.) = the shovel for ashes
*//kχo·rob (1/2, f.) * the honey sack made of iguana skin (see p. 205)
21. /kχuru·b = aridity, acidity
/kχu·rub = grass seed
22. *≠kχuru·b = the hot earth around the fire pla
≠kχu·rub = vein
23. !na/mi· (3, st.) = to carry a child on one's arm
!na·/mi (1/2, f.) = the side; as a verb: to run pigeon-toed
24. ≠na/o·b (3, st.) = honeycomb
*≠na·/ob (1/2, f.) = a road that is smooth or slightly hilly that runs along a mountain slope
25. !oro· = to stand on tiptoe
!o·ro = to bellow
26. saru· = to catch a sheep or goat by the
sa·ru (3, f.) = to pursue
27. so·res = the sun
sore.s = the female sore partner (see p. 318/319)
28. tara·s = the woman
*tā·ras (3, f.) = the brother's duty (especially emphasized by the Hottentots) to love his sister and her children (see p. 303)
29. to·rob = war
toro·b = a fine-grained, red, hard, kind of soil

δ)Differences in the word-tone, accent and initial tone level (only the third is indicated in the word-tone, otherwise it is assumed to be a 1/2 tone):

1.	/a·rab	(3, f.)	=	the annoyance
	/ara·b		=	rib
	/a·ˀrab		=	the crack
2.	//a·ri		=	yesterday, tomorrow
[359]	//aˀri·		=	to pulverize (in the language of the Namib nomads: !oˀˀn)
3.	!a·ba		=	to climb up
	!aˬba·	(3, st.)	=	to scratch
4.	χoa·		=	to scrape
	χo·ˀa		=	to write
5.	χuru·b		=	powdered coals
	χuˬru·	(3, st.)	=	to pull out
6.	χu·bu		=	to pulverize tobacco
	χuˬbu·	(3, st.)	=	to drink from [sip]
7.	gara·		=	to be cool
	ga·ˬra		=	to have German measles
8.	gaˬro·	(3, st.)	=	bend, bow
	ga·ro		=	to dry out, become thin, to be hard
9.	/ga·bi		=	to sprinkle
	/gaˬbi·s	(3, st.)	=	the cup
	(/gabi·		=	to be high)
10.	//ga·ˬe		=	to imitate
	//gaɛ·		=	to chew
11.	//ga·mi		=	water
	//gaˬmi·	(3, st.)	=	to bend the head
12.	//ga·nas		=	the giraffe acacia, (Cape D. kameelboom)
	//gaˀna·s		=	name of a plant that is like a fig tree that grows frequently in the cliffs near Kubub. The inner soft skin of the root is eaten raw.

[262 824]

192
194

//ga·ˀna = to water the cattle singly or in herds

13. //gara·s = the Aloe dichotoma L. (see p. 112)

//ga/ra·s (3, st.) = shoulder blade

//ga·ra = to scratch lines

14. !ga· os = cutting

!ga/o·s (3, st.) = the tree trunk

15. !ga/ra·b = thinness

!ga·rab = the male genitals

16. !ga·ro = to be barren

*!ga/ro· = the hurrying of the thirsty cattle to water or of the mother animal to its young

17. /ga·mi = to have two wives (cf. p. 307)

[360] /gaˀmi· = to close one eye

18. /go·e = to curse

/go/e· = to splint a broken arm

19. /go/re·b = the request

/go·reb = a cut in the skin for bleeding

20. guˀnu = to make a place for oneself by shoving

gu/nu (3, st.) = to spoil, rot

21. /gu·i = one

/gu/i· (3, st.) = to become tired of somebody

22. //ga·ma (3, f.) = to fetch water

*//ga/ma· = to lie close to the fire

23. go/ra·b (3, st.) = name of a kind of crow, the Corvus scapulatus Daud.

*go·ra = to peel skins from field onions

24. !gu/i· (3, st.) = to creep around something

!gu·i = pulsating of a wound

25. !gu·ri = to rub someone with fat

!guˀri· = to be arrogant

26. !gu/bu· (3, st.) = to knock

!gu·bu = to be round

192 27. ǂgu·i = to be much

194 ǂgu/i·s (3, st.) = the nose

28. ha/ra· = to be far

ha ra = to swallow

29. /ha/mi· (3, st.) = to dress warmly

/ha·mi = to make oneself ready

30. //ha·ru = to weep from joyous emotion

//ha/ru· (3, st.) = to creep into

31. !ha·e = to be quick

!ha/e· = to hunt on horseback (see p. 290)

32. !ho·a = to tell a story

!ho/a· = to be crooked

33. !ho/ba·b = turning around

!ho·bab = intestinal worm

34. /hu/ru· (3. st.) = cooking thin meat until dry

/hu·ru = to play

35. !hu/i·b (3. st,) = the bustard (see p. 272)

!hu·ib = the fresh smell of the damp wood of the giraffe acacia

36. !hu·nu = to become wet

[361] !hu/nu· = to suck marrow out of bones (cf. p. 355, no. 28.)

37. ǂkχa·rab (3, f.) = the whale (see p. 37)

ǂkχa/ra·b = testicles

38. !kχo·ab = cartridge belt

*!kχo/a·b = ice

39. ǂkχo·a = to soothe

ǂkχo/a·b = the elephant

40. ǂkχu·bi = to make noise

ǂkχu/bi· = to babble (of small children)

41. na·ʔmi = the tongue

na ʔmi· = to flicker

na/mi· = to bend around a corner

na/mi·b = the surface, the Namib desert

42. na·ba = to flash [lightning]

na/ba· (3, st.) = to disappear behind something, to go down

192 43. /naǂe· = to put straight
194 /na·eb = the navel
44. //na·e = to indicate
//naǂe· = to sing
45. //nãǂi· (3, st.) = to girdle oneself with straps (Herero)
//nã·ǂi = to be stiff
//nã· i = all right
46. !naǂe· = to trot
!naë· = to become warm
!naʔe = to be born
47. !na·rab = the Acanthosicyos horrida Welw. (see pp. 146, 197.)
*!naǂra·b (3, st.) = designation of the Namib bushmen for "white man"
48. /no·ro = to tan a skin
/noǂro· (3, st.) = to be pale
49. /oǂro· = to be few
/o·ro = used up, to be old
50. //oʔa = not to be able to
//oǂa· (3, st.) = squishing of water in wet shoes
(//o·a = to kiss)
51. !o·a = to meet
!oǂa = to be sad
[362] 52. sa·mi (3, f.) = breasts, udder
saʔmi· = to use the whip
saǂmi = to get in the "wrong throat" when swallowing
53. sao· = to mark cattle
sa·o = to follow
54. so·as = barrel
soǂa·s = fissure, scratch
55. to·a = to cease
toǂa· (3, st.) = to tear apart
56. /uǂi·b = brother-in-law
/u·ib = stone
57. !uʔi· = to cut fat from meat

192 !u·i = to become evening

194 58. !u/bu·b = egg

*!u·bu (3, f.) = to turn someone away

59. !ũ·i = to guard

*!ũ/i· (3, st.) = to be seamless or jointless

60. tsa/o· (3, st.) = the raging pawing of the bull or the wildebeest

tsa·ob = ash

61. tsa/ma·b = the tsama gourd (see p. 200)

tsa·mab = the food supply of the ants, "ant food"

62. tso·as = looking for lice

tso/a·s (3, st.) = anus

)Difference in word-tone, accent, initial tone level and tone extension.

//ga·/ni (1/2, f.) = meat

//gani· (1/2, st.) = checked brown and white

194 f) Suspension of sound characteristics is to be observed at times, when the individual word becomes a part of a compound. However, I have not made any systematic notations in this direction, but only noted a few observations.

The accent in a compound is usually shifted from its original position in the individual word. The general designation for cat is /hõ/a·b. In the compounded designation for "field-cat," !ga·ro/hõ·/ab, the accent is clearly shifted to the penultimate syllable. The same is true for !ore b, the basin, and */nu·bi!o·reb, the winnowing basin (p. 201). [363] Usually a change in the word-tone (see the accent, p. 353) is combined with this.

Also the characteristic tone extension of the individual word can disappear in a compound: //hõ/s, the sack, /na·ma//hõ/s, the economy sack (p. 238). Noticeable in a compound is the appearance of a rising tone extension that is lacking in the individual words: /na/m, to love, but /na/m/na/m, to bring to love.

How much the sound characteristics of the individual word change under the musical influence of the sentence structure and under the influence of the emotions, I have not investigated. The initial tone level seems to be to be by far the stablest sound characteristic of a word.

3. Orthography

The spelling which I use for Nama words in this report is closely patterned after the general linguistic alphabet, which Steinthal (80) uses. I 104 194

> 80. H. Steinthal, Linguistik, in G. Neumayer's "Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen," 1891.

can therefore restrict myself here to a few remarks to orient the reader and as an explanation for several deviations from Kroenlein's method.

ā indicates the length of a vowel. If the long sign is missing, the vowel is short.

ã indicates nasalization. Individual tendency towards nasalization of vowels, which follow an m (toma, "not," go ma·b, "ox," ma, "to give," etc.) I have observed frequently but I have not considered this in the script.

(a) indicates that the vowel involved is spoken hastily, almost supressed.

y is pronounced as the "j" in the German word Jena.

a/o and analogously all vowels that are separated by a sound sign, are not to be spoken as a dipthong but separately.

aɛ, aĭ, and oɛ etc. are to be spoken with the vowels separated with the accent on the first if no accent sign is given.

ai is to be pronounced as in the German "Kaiser," "Eile," "einerlei," etc. The dipthong ei (as pronounced in the linguistic alphabet) does not exist in the Hottentot language. The linguistic method of writing should definitely be preferred. Where Kroenlein writes ai, in many cases this could be confused with aɛ.

au is to be pronounced as in the German "Auge," "auch," etc. The linguistic dipthong ou does not exist in the Hottentot language [364] any more than it does in pure German. Where Kroenlein writes au, there is often a confusion with ao which is very close to it.

ao is to be pronounced with the emphasis on the first vowel and with such a quick transition to the second, that it sounds like a dipthong.

b at the beginning of a word is pronounced like our b, in the middle of a word usually softly like our w, and at the end of a word hard but not quite so hard as our p.

χ is pronounced as in the German "lachen," "Bach" etc.

kχ corresponds to Kroenlein's kh, that should be "somewhat harder,

but not much" than k. I have always heard this sound as k with a following χ and therefore write it that way.

r is rolled with the tongue, not made with the uvula.

s is pronounced weakly at the end of a word like the German sch in "Busch," "Bresche," but at the beginning of a word like the s in "salz," "Sonne," etc, often sharply as in the French "salon."

ts is pronounced as is German z in "Zahn," "Zunft" etc.

f and l are missing in the Nama language. When met with occasionally they occur in word stems borrowed from the Dutch: gurla·bigis, butterfly; f(a)la·migob, the flamingo, ff·lsib, the vuilziekte of the Boers (lues).

[364] B. Knowledge of Nature

82

What we learned (from our consideration of the sustenance and medicine, handicrafts, animal husbandry and hunting as well as from the portrayal of the land and climate) about the Hottentot's specific knowledge of the three realms of nature was that it derived more or less directly from material exigencies and had always been connected with them. The question now poses itself whether this knowledge also exists independently of the cares of daily life, that is, to what extent it can be regarded as the free expression of intellectual stimuli. It will be shown that despite all the intellectual agility of the Hottentot his knowledge of nature at no time rises to an even rudimentary form of natural science. Only in two fields can we recognize at least the striving for a certain continuation beyond the rudiments or for an organization of the factual data: in the field of biology (which even today is closest to the hunter and cattle owner) and -- almost lost once again to oblivion -- in the field of division of time, whose seasonal changes and deep influence upon animated nature both give the herdsman cause to think.

1. Flora and Fauna

[365] The Hottentot's knowledge of animals and plants will not be discussed here. The zoological and botanical classification of the material I collected must be finished before we can attain a clear picture of the matter. We would gain nothing by simply listing the native names.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX 10

B 197 as representative of the Southern Group.[1] Grammatical sketches are also available of */Khū* (*Kung*) and *//K'au //en* (*Auen*), representing the Northern Group, and of *Hie* (the language of the Hiechware or "Tati Masarwa") and *Naron*, representing the Central Group[2]; but of the other Bushman languages, and this includes the great majority of those spoken in the Kalahari Desert at the present time, H 197 only short vacabularies at best have so far been published. Of the four Hottentot languages, again, the only one fully available for comparison is *Nama*, of which we possess several good grammatical studies and dictionaries.[3]

B H 197 The following sketch in no way claims to provide a complete or even adequate comparative study of the Khoisan languages. It is intended merely to illustrate briefly the principal features characteristic of them, to show how far these features are shared by them all, and what differences exist. A note must be added on the method adopted in the discussion of grammar. This will be dealt with under two heads: (*a*) Grammatical Processes or Technique, i.e. the various mechanisms employed for the expression of meanings, and (*b*) Syntax, i.e. the ways in which the various grammatical categories are expressed. In the former case we consider the different formal processes of the languages and note what their functions are; in the latter we consider the different grammatical functions and categories and note the formal processes employed to express them. The two parts are therefore complementary, and between them should give a serviceable picture of the general grammatical structure.

B H 194 ## Phonetics[4]

Except in the case of */Khū* and *Nama*[5] no detailed scientific studies have been made of the phonetic systems of the Khoisan languages.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1911 (texts); D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Grammar," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xix (1928–9), 81–98; Meriggi, "Versuch einer Grammatik des /xam-Buschmännischen," ibid., 117–53, 188–205.

[2] Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Ko-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37 ff., esp. 56–112; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 1928 (Grammatical Sketches: Naron, 51–60; Auen, 60–4; cf. also Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 1891 (Naron grammar and vocabulary, 540–52).

[3] The most useful sources are: Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1909 (grammar and texts; bibliography); Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 1907 (texts 387–545); Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, vol. ii, 1923 (texts in the Bergdama dialect, 62–131); Kroenlein, *Wörterbuch der Khoe-Khoin*, 1889 (best dictionary).

[4] The orthography employed in the following pages and throughout the book is that recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in its Memorandum I: *Practical Orthography of African Languages*, except in the case of the "clicks", for which the long-established conventional symbols are used.

[5] Doke, "The Phonetics of the Language of the ǂhû Bushmen," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 129–65; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1–44.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

B
H
194

Certain general features of importance shared by them all are readily observable, however. The vowels in many cases have a more or less obscure sound, i.e. they are slurred in pronunciation and their qualities are indefinite, so that several varieties may be heard of what is essentially the same vowel sound. Most vowels occur either long or short, and this length is at times a determining factor between words otherwise alike. Almost all the vowels, further, may be nasalized, and the presence or absence of nasalization is a factor in distinguishing words of different meanings otherwise phonetically identical. Diphthongs, finally, are very numerous.

The consonants are subdivided into emitted consonants and reversed or implosive consonants. In the former class, "in the production of which the whole movement of the speech organs emits or drives the air outwards," velar and alveolar explosives, fricatives, and affricates predominate, which, in conjunction with the "clicks", give the languages a harsh staccato character. The affricate combinations are almost all unvoiced and ejective, i.e. accompanied by simultaneous glottal stop. Nasals are also very often heard in speech. On the negative side may be noted the absence of the labio-dentals *f* and *v* and the semi-vowel *l*, except occasionally in words incorporated from European languages.

The reversed or implosive consonants, "in the production of which the whole or a portion of the movement of the speech organs reverses or draws the air inwards," are the famous and much-discussed "clicks". They are produced by rarefying the air between some outer closure or point of tongue articulation and an inner closure formed either at the velum or the glottis, and then releasing the outer closure so that the air is sucked in sharply. The inner closure is subsequently released for the following vowel. The position of the outer closure varies with the different kinds of click. Four different positional types of click are used in all the Khoisan languages: dental, customarily represented by the symbol /; alveolar, !; palato-alveolar (sometimes called cerebral), ‡; and lateral, //. Each of these may be pronounced unvoiced, voiced, or nasal, and in various combinations with other consonants. In the Southern Bushman Group there is further a bilabial unvoiced velaric click ("kiss click"), ʇ, not met with elsewhere, while */Kkã* also has a fifth type of click, the retroflex.

The grouping of sounds and the character of the syllable follow the same principles throughout. Single vowels, diphthongs, nasal

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

B H 194

consonants, or nasal clicks alone often form complete syllables and whole words. Generally, however, syllables are made up of either (*a*) a consonant or consonant combination with following vowel or diphthong, or (*b*) a consonant or consonant combination, a vowel or diphthong, and a terminal consonant, which is invariably a nasal. Very many syllables commence with a click, and the quick succession of these clicks in speech is an outstanding feature in all the languages.

The variation of the musical pitch of the syllable is another most important feature of the Khoisan languages. Many words, phonetically alike, but bearing different meanings, are differentiated tonetically, the tone distinction being their only distinguishing feature in speech. Five significant tone levels have been discovered—high level, mid level, low level, falling, and rising. What part, if any, tone inflexion plays in syntax, in showing the relation of one idea to another, either expressed or unexpressed, is as yet quite uncertain. In this respect, as in many others, a good deal of work still remains to be done in the phonetic investigation of these languages.

Grammatical Processes

B H 193

Grammatical categories and syntactic relationships are expressed in a variety of ways, some of which are common to all the languages, while others are found in only a few of them. The main grammatical processes employed in all the Khoisan languages may be classified as follows: (*a*) the modification of the form of the radical element by (1) the use of a complex apparatus of suffixes, (2) the reduplication of the radical element, and (3) composition, the uniting into a single word of two or more different radical elements; (*b*) the extensive use of grammatical words or "auxiliary particles"; and (*c*) word order, the combination in a definite sequence of two or more denotative concepts to provide a new denotative concept.

(*a*) The radical elements of Khoisan words are to a very large extent, if not altogether, monosyllabic, and any additional elements can usually be shown to have a functional significance. Prefixes are altogether lacking, and infixes very few; the principal mechanism for modifying the form of the radical element so as to express a new denotative concept lies in the employment of suffixes.

(1) The apparatus of suffixes is very complex, and they are used for many different purposes. In some cases, although it is clear that the second syllable of a word is a suffixed element, it is difficult to determine the function of this suffix. As an illustration we may take

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

197 een bedroeft klaaglied zingen, en vele zullen over de al te grote zwarigheden zodanig verschrikken, dat zij midden in 't werk zullen ophouden, en een ander ook overlaten zullen."

The description of all the authors of that time, who busied themselves with the problem of the Nama language tally with this one.

2. Since that time the Nama language has been specially investigated and written down by missionaries and the apparently insurmountable difficulties in learning the language have been overcome. To-day there is a series of dictionaries and grammar books of the language and Hottentots who read possess a small literature. They even buy a monthly periodical. It was principally the Rhenish Mission which, through its untiring efforts, has achieved such excellent results, that it can be said that, of all the dialects of the different Hottentot tribes, the Nama tribe and language have been studied best.

194 The difficulties experienced when one begins to study the language are due to the fact that the language possesses four clicks which are produced by pressing and snapping the tongue. If the organs of speech of the learner cannot adapt themselves to the production of these clicks even the most talented linguist will fail to give the idiom its correct pronunciation. But in spite of a well-articulated production of the peculiar sounds of this language one meets another threatening difficulty as one goes along, namely, the peculiar 193 syntax of the language, which is utterly different from the rules of European languages, so that the rule followed generally with beginners of thinking in the mother-tongue and quickly translating the thought into the foreign language, cannot be adhered to in the case of the Nama language. If one cannot think in the Nama language, one will never be able to learn to speak it.

194 3. It is remarkable that the difficult clicks of the Nama can be produced with the same ease as any other sounds and that European children playing with Nama children often pick up the language more quickly than their mother-tongue. It is notable, too, that numerous Bantu tribes have taken over clicks into their Bantu language. This indeed happened (according to the recent researches of Prof. C. Meinhoff) by the adoption of a whole Nama word which then became Bantu in its pronunciation and spelling, the click remaining unchanged.

197 4. In connection with the dialects of the Hottentots of the Cape Colony some notes made in the earlier days are available. The library of Sir George Grey especially contains many valuable manuscripts. When one examines these old documents and compares them with Nama that is still spoken, one receives the impression that these dialects are so

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

342 are so big that ten or twenty men, with women and children, can live in them comfortably. But on the average they are much smaller, and some are so small that they
354 can simply be picked up and carried away. The fire-hearth is in the middle of the hut, but as they make no chimneys to draw up the smoke their dwellings are always full of
372 it. They make fire with remarkable dexterity, by placing under the foot a bit of wood in which there is a small hollow, and then firmly and continuously twisting another piece of wood into this hollow until the sparks come out.

Language.

197 All these Hottentots, especially those along the shore, speak one and the same language. This is at once a hindrance, for owing to the difficulty of pronunciation it cannot be learned by our countrymen, to the great detriment of further exploration of the country and of dealing with these
194 people. Their speech is full of clucks like those of the turkey-cocks; they clap or clack each word in the mouth, as if a man were snapping his thumb, so that their mouth goes almost like a rattle, continuously clapping aloud with the tongue, each word with a different clap. Some words they can only utter with considerable difficulty, seeming to fetch them up from the back of the throat, like a turkey-cock, or like the people on the German Alps do, who through drinking ice-water get swellings at the neck.
101 Because of this our countrymen, observing this impediment and extraordinary stuttering in speech, have given them the name of Hottentots, in the same sense as that word is commonly used here at home as a taunt against anybody who stutters and stammers in uttering his words.[1]) They
192 now also call themselves by the name Hottentot, and in the presence of our countrymen dance and sing: *Hottentot brokwa, Hottentot brokwa*, by which they mean to say,

---

[1]) Dapper's theory about the origin of the name "Hottentot" has been adopted by most later writers. It is discussed in detail by Prof. du Plessis (*S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv, 189-93; xxix, 660-67), who comes to the conclusion, after a careful review of the relevant literature, that this name was not bestowed upon the Cape natives by early travellers, as suggested by Dapper, but rather was derived from their use of some such word as *hautiton* (whence *Hottentoo*) in their dancing songs, and so found its way into Dutch and other European languages. The problem is still a matter of controversy, but the authorities quoted by du Plessis seem to bear out his contention. It may be added that the Hottentots, although they now acknowledge this name as well, originally called themselves *khoikoin* ("*Khoi-Khoin*"), or "real people", a name which they still retain for themselves in their own language.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

others, who boast that they have learned many things from the Hottentots. For in the first place the Hottentots lie, and, in the second, they are determined to keep their secret remedies to themselves. They cure colic quickly by a certain aromatic root.[66]) They employ also a certain species of Datura, as I think, called dacha.[67]) This they bray carefully, and after braying, make it into balls and eat it, as many Mahomedans do with Amulon or opium. It makes them monstrous drunk.

The umbilical cord of a new born infant they tie firmly, but do not cut back. The cord falls off by itself after a time.[68]) These details I learned from a certain Hottentot woman. I could get no further information from any source.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their Language.

If one listens to them talking, one supposes the age of Pythagoras to have returned, in which birds were fabled to have enjoyed mutual converse in speech. In sober truth it is noise, not speech, if one attends to the mode of expression of the Hottentots; for every single word is finished by a noisy click of the tongue against the echoing palate. One would not be wrong in saying that this clicking of the tongue against the palate is the main element in the sounds, but that the linking of the sounds is fetched up from their deep chests, their lips being generally rounded. The result is that they are bereft of all interchange of speech with other races; nor after all this lapse of time can one of our countrymen be found who can converse perfectly with them. Those Hottentots, however, who have lived long in the neighbourhood of the Fort, adapt themselves to our countrymen, acquiring many Dutch terms, of which they modify the terminations. They end nearly all their borrowed words in -kom: as tobaqkom, tobacco; kaetjom, a little piece; Aerom, to hear, etc. Their vernacular does not contain many roots, but the words are enriched with affixes.

---

[66]) Kolb likewise says that the umbilical cord is bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; the modern Hottentots tie it half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, then cut it through above the knot, and leave the part attached to the baby to fall away by itself (Schapera, op. cit., 304, 321).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

More than forty ships belonging to our Company, or of various nations, call here every year. The crews of these ships spend every year a thousand silver dollars more or less, for in looking after their health and restoring their strength and purchasing supplies they pay with lavish and extravagant hand for bread, meat, wine, beer, vegetables and other supplies and various articles of merchandise; then they set sail despoiled of their cash, leaving no regrets behind them in the colony but only the fear that they will not promptly return with as much more money to spend as the colonists could wish(?).

I am of opinion that the language of the natives has something in common with Hebrew, for it seems to consist of gutturals, labials, dentals, linguals and other sounds that fall with difficulty from the lips and are hard for us to pronounce. It is also probable that their language consists of various dialects and is not everywhere the same; for I have heard some who penetrated into the interior relate that they encountered races differing in speech, with whom they could have absolutely no converse except through interpreters; while to others some of their words were intelligible, and for the rest they spoke by nods and signs.

I have compiled a list for travellers of some essential words with their meanings, from the language of natives living some distance from this place.[*)] It may be of some use to our explorers who wander into those parts or deliberately make their way thither. The idiom, so far as I can see, is a well-developed and rich one. E.g. *Caye manaine* means a *ship*. It is a compound word from *Caye*, house, and *manaine*, with the middle syllable long, which means *water*[**)], i.e. *water-house*, not an unintelligent turn of speech for *ship*. Similar derivations and etymologies may be observed in other words.

Here it seems appropriate to add as an illustration the numbers from *one* to *ten* as in use both among the Magui and here among our Africans. The difference between the two will be obvious, and we may, if you please, leave to some future Bochart[**)], skilled in strange tongues, the task of tracing out their origin:

---

*) In modern Khoe, *i-Kaye* = house, domicile, and *amanai* = water; *manaine* is probably meant to be the locative form *emanini*.

**) Samuel Bochart (1599-1667) was (according to a note by van Oorth in his Dutch trans. of G.) a noted Orientalist whose work on the animals of the Bible had a deep influence on Oriental linguistics. (Amsterdam, tr., 207.)

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

524 Korana description did not differ from the game as played by the Naman. It may be useful to point out here that the game gets its name from *//hu:*, "To make a hole" and *//hu:a* is thus properly "a hole."

(ii) The *guuukuuu*, "hide-and-seek." It is played by two or more players, one of them hiding some small object in one of his hands behind his back and then producing both his hands closed, he exclaims: "*kam !kumiŋ !na ha?*" "In which hand is it?" If the opponent guesses correctly, he says: */kaugu*. "You win."

This game is of interest because it is the famous "Hottentot card-playing," to call it by the name under which it was familiar to the Dutch colonists. It has been lengthily described by Sparrman, among others, in his *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, (I, p. 231-233). He, however, missed the essentials of its significance.

[114]

VI. LANGUAGE.

197 This short survey concerns only the language of the *//aromŋ //ai* of Bloemhof and it is limited to its most important aspects. It does not appear necessary to go in a detailed manner into the features which our particular dialect may have in common with the rest of the Korana language and which have been adequately dealt with in the following works:

197 113 (i) Engelbrecht—J. A. *Studies oor Korannataal*, Kaapstad, 1928. It contains a grammatical sketch and a very copious vocabulary.

(ii) Meinhof—C. *Der Koranadialekt der Hottentottischen*, Berlin, 1930. A very thorough exposition of the grammar and the vocabulary.

(iii) Maingard—L. F. *A revised version of the Korana Catechism of C. F. Wuras*, Bantu Studies, v, 112-165. Contains a detailed grammatical analysis of the text and a comparative vocabulary.

PHONOLOGY

194 *Note*: The texts already given preserve the individual peculiarities of each speaker.

(a) *Vowels*. Their pronunciation is not always very clear. Engelbrecht has already noted the indistinctness between the pairs *i* and

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

194

ĭ and ŏ and ŭ (p. 7). I found the same hesitancy in many other instances. Thus ≠*he:ĭ*, in *Tabab'i* pronunciation, as against *Iis*, ≠*hae*, " to be brought in." ≠*he:ĭ* can be explained thus: ≠*hae* > ≠*hee* (with *a* > *e*) > ≠*he:ĭ* (*i* by dissimilation). Again */Nøes* in the group */noes /ho:ma gomab* was pronounced */seis* by *Tabab*, who is considered as the best Korana speaker in Bloemhof.

Similarly *o* and *u*, e.g. *uru* and *ore* " to free, rub off "; */Koro* and */kuru*, " to rub, massage; "

au and *ou* in */naub* and */noub*, " red ochre ";

ău and *ŏu* in *//nălu* and *//nŏlu*, " to hear."

An *ɔ* is found in some words, e.g. */gɔ kɔ²ai*, " to cover "; *kɔ²ɔmi*, " house."

An *y* is heard sometimes in */uib*, " stone " pronounced */yib*, as against */uib*, " father-in-law," which never shows the *y*.

ue > *we* e.g. */hue*, and */kua* " to "; */kua*, " with "; ≠*kua*, " to go out."

w develops between *o:* and *e* in *ho:we* " to be obtained," (heard once).

(b) *Consonants.*

(i) *-b* is very often devoiced into *-p*. Thus *Tabap* instead of *Tabab*; */giip/ hareip*; ≠*kaip* instead of ≠*kaib*, " foot."

-b- (intervocalic) is sometimes, but very seldom heard as *-β-*.

(ii) The flapped retroflex consonant which is heard as *r* or *l* or *d* exists. Thus, in proper names, *Malukab*, *giip/ hareip*, *Katulip*, etc. I have heard *Iis* say */garip* and */gadip* " the river " and *Tabab* say indifferently *gomadi* and *gomari* " the cows."

The existence of this consonant explains, to my mind, such distinctions as this one made by Wurm (*Vocabulary of the Korana Language*, under " Cow "): " All the females have two plurals—the woman says; *Kumatse*; the man says: *Kumare*." and by Engelbrecht (p. 8): " Reeds uit die voorgaande het ons geleer dat die gebruik van 'n *r-* of 'n *d-* vorm afhang van die geslag van die spreker. . . . . By die vorming van die verkleinwoord word naamlik tussen stam en agtervoegsel *-ra-* of *-da-* ingelas al na die spreker tot die manlike of tot die vroulike geslag behoort."

(iii) The *l* exists very rarely. I observed it only in one word *laula* " I am sorry, excuse me."

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

194 (iv) *k* and *g* are very loosely pronounced and *g* very often devoiced.

(v) An *ŋ* develops between the final nasal of a word and the initial click of the following word. This is specially observable in stereotyped word groups, such as tribal names ; *||aremŋ ||ais* ; " the Links " *!Kuriŋ ||ais*, " the Hoogstanders ;;' *|hãoŋ ||ais*, " the Katmense " ; *|hũŋ ||ais* the " Skerpioens." Also in proper names, e.g. *geiŋ !hareip* where there is however no preceding nasal in the isolated word. It is not so common otherwise, although heard in rapid speech occasionally, *geiŋ ≠a:s* " the big reed."

(vi) Clicks. The same indistinctness applies to the velar element of the click as to the isolated velars *k* and *g*. This is perhaps why individual observers differ so much in their notation of this velar element of the click. The Bloemhof Korana were, however, more careful when this element meant a semantic difference, e.g. *!garib*, " the Orange River," and *!karib*, " honey-beer, " and *!harib* " whip " ; *||kaeb*, " time," and *||kxaeb* " law."

I observed no ejective velar affricate *kx'* after clicks, as Meinhof did for the Kat tribe dialect. In this I agree with Engelbrecht. Sometimes clicks are dropped, here again in stereotyped groups, *||aremŋ ||ais* being a good example, < *||are* " left," + *||õab*, " arm," *||ais* " tribe." This may happen also, but very seldom in rapid conversation.

(c) *Tones.*

Like all Hottentot dialects, the Bloemhof speech uses tones, which sometimes connote a semantic difference, e.g. */uib*, " stone," with a high tone, and */uib*, " father-in-law," with a low tone. I observed the recognised three tones, but I suspect that further investigation may reveal more. But as these may be bound up not with the word-tone, but with the sentence-tone, which exists very prominently in Korana, it would be premature to say anything further.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

193 It is not always an easy matter to distinguish between the two in the language we are now considering.

Meinhof (p. 39) has rightly remarked that " die Kasusendungen sind also nicht denen indogermanischen Sprachen gleich zu setzen, da sie noch in der Entwicklung begriffen sind." The so-called case-endings in Hottentot are properly pronominal forms, just tacked on to the noun, more or less loosely and sometimes not at all. From what I can judge

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

	Khoikhoi.	*ǃAi-Bushman.*
Milk	bi-s	bi
Honey	dani-s (dini-s)	dini
Fly	ǃgina-s	ǃgini
Light	subu	subu
To laugh	ɣaĭ (ǃKora)	ɣaĭ
To see	mũ	mũ
To kiss	ǁoa	ǁobe

It is of vital importance that the roots, especially in the first syllables and clicks (Anlaut), should agree; and this is here the case.

A prominent feature in all Khoikhoi dialects is a strict monosyllabic tendency, and all roots end with a vowel, and chiefly with *a, i, u; e* and *o* are contractions of the three primitive vowels. As regards the roots in the Bushman languages, they appear more or less polysyllabic, although a great number is monosyllabic. They end generally in a vowel, very often also in a very strong nasal ~, which I believe is an old crippled suffix, originally having a vowel at the end. For instance, ǃgũ, to go, is by some pronounced ǃgun (ǃgung); this n, as can be proved, is contracted from nĭge or nĭ-ge-ni. These vowels, however, have gradually worn off. Those roots which appear to be polysyllabic, very likely after a more careful study will prove to be compounds of radical elements.

While the Khoikhoi dialects all agree in having the same suffixes for the forming of three distinct numbers, (sing., dual, plur.) the Bushman languages show great irregularities and departures from the rule in this respect. In the ǃKham language (Northern Colonial Border about Keuhardt and Zakrevier)—*mirabile dictu*—the words *man* ǃkui *goai*, and *woman* ǃkui ǃnitĭ, differ even in the root entirely from the plural *men*, ǃĕga *tăgga*, and *women* ǃĕga ǃnăgga. They can therefore not be styled plurals in the general sense of the word.

Then again the plural will be formed simply by reduplication; but it also must be said that some indi-

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Mr. Krönlein, a missionary who pretends to have some knowledge of the Khoikhoi. He told me that he derives *tse* from *gei*, to grow, to develop. This is quite unscientific, as there is not a single instance in the Khoikhoi idioms of the *g* changing into *ts*. It seems that the original root is quite lost, and so is its meaning. I shall, however, make some suggestions of my own, that perhaps may lead those who still labour among the Khoikhoi on some track. [194] We have numerous instances in Khoikhoi that *ia* contracts into *e*; and we have also the fact that *ts* has worn off into *s*; again, we have the instance that *e* and *i*, in forms like *bi* and *be*, or *si* and *se*, are promiscuously used. If we now reconstruct *tse* we shall get the form *tsia*; tsia then becomes *tsē* or *tsī*; and *tsī* becomes *sī*. Now we have in Khoikhoi the verb *sī*, to come, to arrive, to approach. I have, in the analysis of the name Tsūi||goab, shown that ||goa means to come, to approach, and here we have only in tsēb another form, which in meaning is identical with ||*goab*, the approaching one—viz., day. I wish, however, to be clearly understood; this derivation is a mere suggestion, and nothing more, but I claim for it a greater possibility than one would claim for such an etymology as is offered in *tse* from *gei*.

‡*Gama*‡*gorib*.

Almost identical with ||*Gaunab*, the opponent of Tsūi||*goab*, is ‡*Gama*‡*gorib*. The etymology of this name offers great difficulty. ‡*Gama*, from the root ‡*gā*, signifies to sink down, to fall down, to drop, by sinking down to enter the ground; but it is also transitively used to throw down, to put into the ground, to plant. ‡*Gori*, again, from the root ‡go, *to go to one side, to jump out of the way, to give road*. For instance, if a person meets another, the one will say to the other, ‡*go*, make room, give way, go to one side; therefore ‡Gama‡gorib is *the one who in falling down, or throwing*